2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6



them out of the pot and saw their very long tongues, my appetite departed and I threw the whole lot away. The tongues seemed so unduly long, and round. "Ugh"!

During the summer months the women had perhaps not quite so much to do; still, there was plenty to take up their time. There was the weeding to be attended to in the hot sun; bark to be prepared for manufacturing into cloth; thread to be twisted and weaving to be done; also mats to be made. But as soon as the autumn came round, the millet crops had to be quickly reaped, beans gathered in, turnips and carrots to be pulled and the potatoes to be dug up. The mode of reaping millet was very primitive indeed, for the tool used belonged to the shell and stone age. It consisted in merely walking through the gardens and pinching off each head with a small shell, leaving the straw standing. A little later the women and children would go into the mountains to pick up chestnuts, which are used largely for food, and gather the wild grapes. About this time they also dug up arrow-root (*Lilium Glenni*). After washing and boiling well, the arrow-root is mashed up into pulp, which is made into cakes and dried in the sun for winter food.

These people had no agricultural implements to speak of and they did not manure their gardens. We once had an old man in to do up our bit of garden, whom I asked to spread some manure on the ground he was digging up, for I told him that would enrich the soil. He stared at me and said he would not do so. When I accused him of idleness he told me that I was very unjust. "How so?" I asked him. Said he, "you profess to be a teacher of religion, Sir; yet you would have me dishonour and insult the gods by offering them manure! Will they not of their own free will give you the increase they intend you to have? Do you think you can force their hands? Let the gods do as they will!" I really thought the old man was joking. But.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6



River, and also in that of the Kushiro River, but it does not form the surface soil, covering large areas of ground, as in many places on the south-western portion of the coast.

The different aspect in the tertiaries of the south-east and south-west coast may be accounted for by the presence of breccia and conglomerate, shales and sandstones, on the western part, while on the eastern coast beds of lignite, coal of inferior quality, and diatom earth form the tertiary strata. If it were not for the total want of harbours, or even moderately sheltered anchorages for ships, this south-west portion of Yezo, with its agricultural resources, its milder climate, and the facilities that it offers for the construction of roads and railways, ought to support a large population. As things stand now, there are no colonists inland, and the coast is deserted and desolate-looking. As I have mentioned before, the only drawbacks are the thick fogs prevailing during the summer months along the south-east coast, and I believe that this in some measure accounts for the Japanese not wishing to settle in a part of the country so depressing to their spirits and so trying to their nerves. I have often noticed how easily affected the Mikado's subjects are by atmospheric and geographical conditions, and how, before settling to do business, they make a point of finding some pleasant spot where to cast anchor, thinking more of the amenities of physical existence than of the facilities for successful trade. I did not see a single house for twenty miles until I reached Shaubets, a village of eleven Ainu huts and one Japanese house. Thousands of sea-gulls and penguins lined the sandy shore, and I saw several large black sea-eagles. A pretty waterfall, gently descending from the high grey cliff, was decidedly ornamental to the scenery and useful to the wayfarer, as it afforded my ponies and myself a good drink of deliciously fresh water. Far off in the distance I could distinguish a long tongue of land. At Shaubets I was told that it was the peninsula on which *Kossuri*, or *Kushiro*, as the Japanese call it, is situated. I left Shaubets early in the morning, with the intention of pushing on to Kushiro, thirty-one miles distant. At Shiranuka, only ten miles from Shaubets, I changed my ponies. Shiranuka is an Ainu village, the inhabitants of which employ themselves in collecting and drying seaweed. There are also seven or eight Japanese

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6



by hunters in chase of deer. Such an act, however, must be distinguished from the regular and organized bear-hunting under consideration. Bear hunting was practised in two separate seasons, spring and autumn. No regular bear hunting was practised in the time when their furs were summer ones (Note 36, a and b). In each season bear hunters formed a party and went to stay at the hut away from their homes. The spring hunting, *paikaru iramande*, began at about the time when the mountain snow became hard enough to walk in and bear cubs had been given birth in the dens (Note 36, c). Earlier in spring before hunting with spring-bow began, they carried out raids on the dens while still the inmates lay in hibernation. After building up a wooden palisade to blockade the entrance of the den, they stirred up the adult animal in the den to come out and shot it with hand bows and poisoned arrows. After killing the parent bear they captured the young cubs left, which they took home to bring them up. As the mountain snow began to melt, the hunters started hunting bears coming out of their dens by means of spring bows set on their tracks mainly on the ridges where the snow melts earlier. The season came to its end at about the time when most bears had left their dens (Note 36, a). So far as hunters from the upper Tokapchi are concerned, most of them returned home once after their raids on bears' dens, stayed there until about the time when bears began to come out of their dens and then went back again to the mountain huts to hunt with spring bows. The season of autumn bear-hunting, *chuk iramande*, covered a period between the time when bears began to retreat to their dens and the time when almost all the bears had finished retreating (Note 36, b). In this season spring bows were set on the tracks usually along the small glens where foods for the bear, such as nuts and berries, were plenty. They hunted the animal with hand bows as well and some hunters chased bears even to their dens. The date of the retreat is delicately influenced by the conditions of snow-falls of the season, so the hunters used to enter mountains at a much earlier date than expected.

Collecting of Plants.

Major items of plants collected by the Ainu were as the following. After each Ainu and scientific names its place of occurence and the parts used by the Ainu are given[38].

Food plants:

| Ainu Names | Scientific Names | Habitat | Parts Used |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Eha | Falcata japonica | Roadside and grassy meadows | Legumina under the ground |
| 2. Mukl | Codonopsis ussuriensis | Woods and grassy meadows | Roots |

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| | Ainu Names | Scientific Names | Habitat | Parts Used |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3. | Pukusa | Allium victorialis | Shady woods | Young leaves |
| 4. | Korokoni | Petasites japonicus | Common | Young stalks |
| 5. | Soroma | Osmunda cinnamonea | Wet places | Folded leaves |
| 6. | Shikerepekina | Spathyema foetida | Wet places | Young leaves |
| 7. | Pukusakina | Anemone flaccida | Half-shaded woods | Young leaves |
| 8. | Tuwa | Pteridium aquilinum | Open or half-shaded places | Folded leaves |
| 9. | Ukurukina | Hosta japonica | Open or half-shaded, somewhat wet places | Young stalks |
| 10. | Trep | Cardiocrinum Glehni | Shady woods | Bulbs |
| 11. | Pui | Caltha Barthei | Open stream-side | Young leaves and stalks |
| 12. | Ninum or niseu | Juglans manshurica | Terrace along streams | Nuts |
| 13. | Shikerupeni | Phellodendron amurense | Deciduous woods | Fruit |
| 14. | Hat | Vitis Coignetiae | Woods | Berries |
| 15. | Kutchi | Actinida arguta | Woods | Berries |
| 16. | Setara | Malus baccata | Sunny places | Fruit |
| 17. | Shiuri | Prunus Ssiori | Woods | Fruit |
| 18. | Komni | Quercus dentata | Hills and plains in coastal regions | Nuts |
| 19. | Peroni | Quercus crispula | Hills and mountains | Nuts |
| | Plants for raw materials: | | | |
| 20. | Sariki | Phragmites communis | | Stalks for roofing, walls and receptacles (*rusa*) |
| 21. | Shiki or ki | Miscanthus sacchariflorus | | Stalks for matting (*aputuki*) and torch for salmon fishing |
| 22. | Shikina | Typha latifolia | | Stalks for matting (*toma*) |
| 23. | At-ni | Ulmus laciniata | | Bast fibres for clothing (*attush*) |
| 24. | Tat-ni | Betula spp. | | Bark for receptacles (*yaru*), torch and spills |
| 25. | Suruku | Aconitum | | Roots for arrow poison |
| 26. | Kap-hai | Laportea bulbifera | | Bast fibres for thread |
| 27. | Hu-hai | Celastrus orbiculatus | | Bast fibres for fishing-nets |

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In spring when the snow had disappeared from the plains, the Ainu set to work collecting wild plants. Their work continued incessantly and with persistence till it was autumn when dog salmon began ascending the rivers. Of the species listed in the chart, Nos. 6, 9 and 19 were especially important as food for bear cubs kept in their homes. Most of the plants collected were dried and stored away in sufficient quantities to last the winter. During spring and summer all varieties with edible leaves, stalks, or roots which the Ainu needed were taken in. In summer *trep* roots were chiefly collected. Those groups that did no farming as in Otopuke gathered these roots with hardly a day's rest during the season. The roots were made into starch for storage. On the other hand, those groups that did some farming (p. 41) seem to have gathered roots with less frequency and in smaller quantity.

In autumn, fishing and hunting activities of the Ainu reached their climax in preparation for the approaching winter. But even at this season certain kinds of edible plants such as nuts, fruits and berries, were collected, though not in such quantities as would last any great length of time. A few varieties of nuts, for instance, acorn and walnut, were exceptions.

The greater part of plants for raw materials were also gathered during autumn, a task in which women again played a major role. In this manner, when base snow covered the ground, the Ainu had completed all their collecting activities. All these activities were arranged in season, so that they were adapted to the ecology of plant life. On the basis of vegtation[1] the Ainu classified the different parts of their land into the following types as forming their main collecting grounds.

| Types of Land | Ainu Term | Plants Mainly Collected |
|---|---|---|
| Woodland on river bank | *kenashi* | 3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 14 |
| Woodless field on either river bank or river terrace | *nup* | 1, 2 |
| Oak wood on river terrace | *komni tai* | 1, 2, 3, 8, 13, 18 |
| Woodland by the side of streamlets on river terrace | *nitai* | 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 |

Numbers correspond to those associated with the plant names cited in the list.

The terrace on which the *kotan* stood and its adjoining river bank provided the collecting grounds for their food plants (Fig. 8). Here also were found flora for raw materials, fire-wood, and almost all other plants, excepting a few special items like Ulmus laciniata for clothing or Aconitum for arrow poison. The former species were usually found distributed in plenty and collected in the mountains in the upper reaches of a river (p. 66). Aconite

[1] [Errata: the word "vegtation" should read "vegetation". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

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of the kind which was believed to be best for arrow poison were localized in their occurence (p. 66). The four types of land cited above were invariably distributed along any river, so that almost all necessary collecting was usually done within a short radius of the *kotan*, or within a day's trip and back at the most. In the case of these particular species that were necessaries and that could only be found a long way from their homes, expeditions were sent out. The task of getting almost all edible plants, as well as varieties for raw materials, was undertaken by women and children.

Cultivation of Plants.

Before the land-allotment to the Ainu by the Japanese Government (Notes 9 and 10), the Ainu in the Otopuke valley and a half of the member households of the local group in Kuttaraushi who lived furthest upstream on the Tokapchi and at least a household in Pipaushi further downstream, had done no farming, but other Ainus in the Tokapchi valley as well as, for instance, those in the Azuma valley, had done some small-scale farming[9]. The old techniques were simpler and the farm work was usually performed by women. The main crops were a variety of Panicum Crusgalli, *piyapa* or *ayushi amam*, and a variety of millet, *amam* or *toita amam* or *munjiro*. Preparation of field and sowing were done in July after storing of chief varieties of edible leaves was finished. Suitable plots on the river bank near their settlement were cleared and levelled with small wooden picks, *shittap*, which were also used for digging up roots and plants. Some families on the Tokapchi used a kind of sickle besides the above-mentioned implement. After the plots were prepared, sowing followed without making any ridges. Weeding was done only once or twice between the time of sowing and the harvest. The crops were harvested by picking ears with an implement made of a molluscan shell collected in the river, dried and stored. These jobs were done during the period between the last part of September and the middle or last part of October. The area cultivated by an average household in Azuma, Saru, Mukawa and Shikot is estimated by the present writer to have been between ca. 1000 and 2000 square metres. When the soil was exhausted the plot was abandoned and a new one prepared. In any valley there seems to have been no shortage of land for cultivation in those days. The cycle of shifting cultivation appears to have varied from area to area.

22 Food-getting Activities.

Every individual of every species of animals must get its food in order to sustain itself, and food-getting activities may claim to be of basic importance in its existence. Up to comparatively recent times, before the introduction of agriculture in its rudest form, the Ainu had lived by hunting and

1, [Errata: the word "of" should read "to". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

2, [Errata: the word "from" should read "form". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

226 than these. Women and children of families less favoured with catches
476 helped the more fortunate families in transportaion and processing, that is, carrying, cutting and drying of the fish, to be rewarded with a certain share of the products.

222 In collecting edible plants, no cooperation between families was made.
476 Neighbouring women of the same settlement would invite one another and go
462 in one group gathering edible plants, but usually each colleted[3] for her own family. Their habit of collecting plants together was based on mere companionship. However, such a party when going far, was always under the leadership of a senior woman who gave necessary advice in the matter of gathering. On long expeditions, especially when there was any danger of the brown bear, they were escorted by some male member of their families.

463 There were some families who were habitually not very keen on bear
184 hunting. They were not so earnest as to migrate to the hybernation[2] centres of bears in the depth of the monutains; instead they made more efforts in fishing. It appears that such families were more frequently found among the downstream local groups than among the upstream ones. Especially among those coastal groups, *pishun utaru*, that lived in settlements near the estuaries, called *pish un kotan* or coastal settlemenst[3], the number of hunters specializing in bear hunting, with huts and grounds mainly for that purpose, was probably null or very small in proportion to that among the interior groups, *kimun utaru*, of interior or inland settlement, *kimun kotan* (p. 76).
[226] According to all my informants from the inland groups, it is more than probable that in the days of traditional life which they themselves experienced the coastal groups had the habit of fishing on the sea as well as on the rivers,
463 while the inland group never fished on the sea (Note 53). Such occupational
458 differentiation, though small, existed between the inland groups and the coatal[4] groups, accompanied more or less by interchange of food-stuffs, usually based on kinship and affinity, and sea fish, meat and salmon were bartered or exchanged as gifts between related families, though it is not ascertained whether it was an act of bartering or of gift. This kind of interchange took place not only within the reaches of the same river but also between the reaches of adjacent river groups. There was also a certain degree of occupational differenciation among the families of the same settlement, which led to the practice of interchange of certain kinds of provisions. For instance, the female members of one family devoted themselves to collecting edible plants, some of which were given to a neighbouring family in return for some meat or fish. Another family endeavoured to catch fish, part of which procured in return some meat from a different family. It appears that this practice was partly connected with individual differences, which seem to have been practically rather great, in the skill of handling fishing spear and bow and arrow,

1,2,3,4. [Errata: these should read "collected, hibernation settlements" and "coastal" respectively--Analyst]

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Collecting Areas.

Of plant resources needed by the Ainu some were usually unavailable from the surrounding area of each settlement: those were aconite plants for the preparation of arrow poison and Ulmus laciniata for textile material. For the purpose of collecting aconite roots, members of the Otopuke river group went out to the Shikata valley near the coast in the territory of the Tokapchi river group. The valley and its environ near the coast of the Tokapchi territory appear to have been the main source of the plants for the Ainu on the whole river system of the Tokapchi. Those of the Azuma river group went out for that purpose as far as to Zenibako in southwestern Hokkaido, an area[1] which it is doubtful if any group claimed for its own. The Ainu of the Saru river in the days of their traditional life are said to have collected the plant from a site near Piraturu on their own river. In Otopuke and Azuma, the bark of Ulmus laciniata was collected mainly in the source areas of each river where good quality plants were plentiful. Practice among the Shikot Ainu in later times suggests that their traditional centre for collecting the bark was on the uppermost reaches of the river, i.e. in the area surrounded by Mts. Eniwa and Bibui. In the case of the Takapchi, a river much larger than those mentioned above, its upper reaches and the surrounding areas were visited by collectors of the bark from local groups on the upper course of the river: members of the Kuttaraushi group mostly went to the interior of the Sahorun or Nikoro, those of the Nitmap and Sanenkoro groups mostly to the source areas of the Sorapchi, an extention of the Tokapchi river group territory on the side of the Ishikari, some members of the Nitmap group farther up to the Tonukariushpet area, and the people of the Memro and Kene groups usually to the interior of the Pise or Sorapchi. But there is no evidence to show that local groups other than those mentioned above, i.e. local groups on its middle or lower course, came up to the area for that purpose. The Fushiko group, one of those local groups, seems to have gone out for the bark to the interior of the Satnai.

All other plants were usually gathered by most river groups around their own settlements. The Shikot group seems an exception. All their settlement or local groups had the traditional way of collecting the *pukusa*, Allium Victoralis, and other edible plants of good quality as well as the bark of Ulmus on the riverhead of their river Shikot, and the *shikina*, Typha latifolia, for matting, on the marshy grounds lying farthest downstream.

In the course of collecting such plants, it was not infrequent for members from different settlement or local groups living adjacent on the same river to come across one another on the same field. On such occasions they exchanged information as to where the plants in search grew in plenty or arranged elimination of overlapping in the sites visited.

1. [Errata: the word "srea" should read "area". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]